

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /031 W  
----- 126849

O R 311728Z OCT 73  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4467  
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
USLO PEKING  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PARIS 28222  
STADIS/////////////////  
EXDIS

NOFORN

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, US, CH  
SUBJECT: SULZBERGER NOTES CONCERNING CONVERSATION WITH CHOU  
EN-LAI

1. NEW YORK TIMES FOREIGN AFFAIRS COLUMNIST C.L. SULZBERGER PROVIDED EMBASSY WITH NOTES OF HIS CONVERSATION WITH CHU EN-LAI ON OCTOBER 26. IN ACCORDANCE WITH TELCON WITH EA/PRCM, SECTIONS CONCERNING PRC RELATIONS WITH US ARE TRANSMITTED BELOW, AND THE COMPLETE TEXT IS BEING AIR POUCHED TO SAME ADDRESSEES. AS SULZBERGER REQUESTS IN MEMORANDUM QUOTED BELOW, INFORMATION SHOULD BE CONSIDERED SENSITIVE.

2. BEGIN QUOTE:

OCTOBER 31, 1973  
MEMORANDUM

I AM ENCLOSING MY NOTES ON EVERYTHING CHOU EN-LAI SAID DURING OUR CONVERSATION LATE AT NIGHT OCTOBER 26 IN PEKING. THIS HAS BEEN REQUESTED BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT THROUGH THE NEW YORK TIMES IN NEW YORK ALTHOUGH I AM NOT AWARE OF THE ACTUAL PERSON WHO MADE THE REQUEST.  
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WILL YOU PLEASE BEGIN UNDERLINE EMPHASIZE END UNDERLINE THAT THIS IS BEING MADE AVAILABLE ON A PERSONAL BASIS AND SHOULD BE BEGIN UNDERLINE TOTALLY CLASSIFIED END UNDERLINE.  
THE U.S. GOVERNMENT SEEMS TODAY TO BE SO PRONE TO LEAKS

THAT I DO NOT WANT TO HAVE PIECES OF THIS CONVERSATION WHICH HAVE NOT YET BEEN PUBLISHED TO BE LEAKED BEFORE I AM READY TO USE THEM.

I WOULD APPRECIATE REASSURANCES ON THIS POINT BECAUSE I HAVE GONE TO A GREAT DEAL OF TROUBLE TO PREPARE THIS SUMMARY FOR THE DEPARTMENT. I HOPE THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER WILL HAVE A CHANCE TO READ IT PERSONALLY.

/S/ C.L. SULZBERGER

END QUOTED MEMORANDUM

3. EXCERPTS CONCERNING US/PRC RELATIONS:

I ASKED WHETHER THE "WATERGATE SCANDAL" HAD HAD ANY EFFECT ON SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS. HE SAID IT HAD HAD NO EFFECT. HE ADDED: "WE NEVER USE THE WORD 'SCANDAL' IN DISCUSSING THIS. SINCE IT IS ENTIRELY YOUR OWN INTERNAL AFFAIR, WE HAVE NEVER PUBLISHED ANYTHING ABOUT IT IN OUR PRESS. IT DOESN'T AFFECT THE OVERALL SITUATION." LOOKING AT CHU, HE ADDED: "ONLY OUR REFERENCE NEWS SERVICE (THE UNPUBLISHED REPORT WITH MORE THAN 7,000,000 CIRCULATION PUT OUT BY HSINHAU) MENTIONS IT AND ISSUES AMERICAN COMMENTARIES.

HE THEN CONTINUED: "WE THINK IT PERHAPS REFLECTS YOUR POLITICAL LIFE AND SOCIAL SYSTEM. IT IS OF INTEREST TO YOUR OWN POLITICAL LIFE AND YOU HAVE HAD SUCH THINGS OCCUR IN YOUR SOCIETY AND UNDOUBTEDLY WILL AGAIN. THERE ARE MANY SOCIAL ASPECTS INTERWOVEN INTO IT AND IT IS BETTER NOT TO DISCUSS THIS ISSUE. I HOPE YOUR PRESIDENT WILL BE ABLE TO OVERCOME THESE DIFFICULTIES. DO YOU THINK HE WILL?"

I EXPRESSED THE OPINION THAT IN THE END I THOUGHT HE WOULD MANAGE TO DO SO BUT I HAD NOT BEEN IN A POSITION TO READ U.S. NEWSPAPERS RECENTLY. I HAD A FEELING, INCIDENTALLY, CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT CHOU WAS VERY WELL BRIEFED ON THIS AS WELL AS MANY OTHER AMERICAN QUESTIONS. INDEED, HE HAD BEEN ASTONISHINGLY WELL BRIEFED ON ME, ON MY EFFORTS TO COME HERE SINCE 1955, ON MY COMMENTS ON CHIANG KAI-SHEK, ETC. HE EVEN QUOTED ME ONCE AND SAID "THAT IS YOUR OWN FAMOUS LINE."

THEN I ASKED WHEN FORMAL EXCHANGES OF FULL RECOGNITION WOULD OCCUR BETWEEN CHINA AND AMERICA, ADDING THAT -- AS HE KNEW -- WE WERE STAYING WITH AMBASSADOR BRUCE, HEAD OF OUR LIAISON OFFICE. HE REPLIED:

"THAT DEPENDS ON THE U.S. SIDE AS WELL AS THE CHINESE SIDE. ON THE U.S. SIDE, YOU SHOULD SEVER DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN AND RECOGNIZE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC AS THE SOLE

LEGAL GOVERNMENT OF CHINA, JUST AS JAPAN DID. AND THE U.S.  
IS CLEARLY PREPARED TO DO SO AS CAN BEEN SEEN FROM  
THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE FOLLOWING PRESIDENT NIXON'S VISIT  
TO US LAST YEAR.

"FROM THE CHINESE SIDE, WE MUST UNIFY OUR COUNTRYBY LIBERATING  
TAIWAN AS CAN ALSO BE SEEN FROM READING THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE.  
THE QUESTION THAT REMAINS IS ONE OF TIMING."

I INQUIRED WHETHER THIS MEANT THAT A SOLUTION WOULD OCCUR  
ONCE CHIANG KAI-SHEK (NOW IN HIS MID80S) DIES. HE SAID:  
" IT SHOULDN'T BE PUT IN SUCH A SPECIFIC WAY. THE CONTINU-  
ATION OF THE CHIANG KAI-SHEK REGIME IS ONE ELEMENT, OF COURSE;  
BUT NOT THE ONLY ONE."

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I ASKED IF IT WAS TRUE, AS SOME PEOPLE SAID, THAT CHINA FELT  
THE U.S. HAD FAILED TO IMPLEMENT SOME OF ITS ACCORDS WITH  
PEKING REACHED DURING THE NIXON VISIT. HERE HIS ANSWER  
WAS THAT OF AN ARTFUL DODGER. HE SAID:

IT IS MORE THAN A YEAR AND A HALF SINCE THE SHANGHAI  
COMMUNIQUE WAS PUBLISHED AT THE CLOSEOF YOUR PRESIDENT'S TRIP.  
THAT COMMUNIQUE COMPRISED TWO SECTIONS. EACH SIDE STATED ITS  
OWN POSITIONS AND DISAGREEMENTS. EACH ACKNOWLEDGED THE OTHER'S  
RIGHT TO CRITICIZE THE OTHER'S POSITION. ON THE OTHER HAND,  
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BOTH THE U.S. AND CHINA HAVE SOUGHT TO NORMALIZE THEIR RE-  
LATIONS AND TO SEEK A COMMON GROUND.

"PRESIDENT NIXON AND MR. KISSINGER OPENED UP A NEW CHANNEL  
AND THE JOINT SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE SHOWS THAT THERE ARE COMMON  
GROUNDS AS WELL AS DIFFERENCES. IN THIS RESPECT THE PAST  
YEAR AND A HALF HAVE SHOWN CERTAIN USEFULDEVELOPMENTS.  
THERE HAS BEEN A GREAT DEVELOPMENT IN THE EXCHANGE OF INDIVIDUAL  
VISITS OF OUR CITIZENS AND THIS CONSTITUTES A BREAK-THROUGH.  
BOTH THE CHINSE AND AMERICAN PEOPLES WANT TO BE FRIENDLY. IN  
1955, AT THE BAN DUNG CONFERENCE" (OF UNDERDEVELOPED NATIONS) "I  
PREDICTED THIS TO AMERICAN JOURNALISTS. DIDN'T YOU TRY TO  
COME HERE AFTER THAT MEETING AND WEREN'T YOU PREVENTED  
BY SECRETARY OF STATE DULLES?"  
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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /031 W  
----- 127058

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 PARIS 28222

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C. I THEN INQUIRED WHAT HIS REACTION WAS TO U.S. POLICY TOWARD RUSSIA, WHICH KISSINGER HAD JUST VISITED AGAIN (INSTEAD OF COMING HERE) BECAUSE OF THE MIDDLE EAST WAR. HE SAID: "WE BOTH UNDERSTAND YOUR POLICY -- AND SOMETIMES DON'T. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE TWO SUPERPOWERS HAVE MANY DISPUTES TO SETTLE AND SUCH DISPUTES DEMONSTRATE THAT EACH SIDE WANTS TO SURPASS THE OTHER IN THEIR POWER COMPETITION. SINCE THERE ARE SUCH CONTRADICTIONS, THEY ARE DIFFICULT TO SETTLE. WHEN ONE PROBLEM IS COMPOSED, ANOTHER ONE CROPS UP. WHY?

"AFTER WORLD WAR II THE UNITED STATES CONSIDERED ITSELF A CONQUERING HERO. AT THAT TIME IT OPPOSED THE SOVIET UNION BUT IN FACT IT WAS PRIMARILY CONTENDING FOR INFLUENCE IN THE INTER-MEDIATE ZONES. IN YOUR OWN PRESIDENT'S WORDS, WHEREVER MONEY WAS NEEDED YOU WOULD GIVE MONEY GENEROUSLY, AND WHEREVER THERE WERE INCIDENTS YOU WOULD SEND TROOPS. IN OUR WORDS, YOU OVER-EXTENDED YOURSELVES. AND IN THE WORDS OF PRESIDENT NIXON AT KANSAS CITY, ON JULY 6, 1971, WHEN HE SPOKE TO JOURNALISTS, HE SAID THAT AT THE END OF WORLD WAR II THE UNITED STATES NEVER DREAMED THAT ITS PRESTIGE WOULD SINK SO FAR DURING A QUARTER OF A CENTURY. I THINK IT WAS HONEST OF HIM  
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TO SAY THIS.

"AT THAT TIME YOUR PRESIDENT HAD ALREADY CONTEMPLATED WITHDRAWING FROM SOME PLACES; BUT THIS WAS NOT ISOLATIONISM. THE TWO THINGS, WITHDRAWAL FROM SOME PLACES AND ISOLATIONISM, MUST BE CLEARLY DISTINGUISHED.

"JUST BECAUSE OF THIS, THESE WITHDRAWALS, ANOTHER SUPER-POWER WISHES TO FILL ANY VACUUM LEFT BY U.S. WITHDRAWALS. WHENEVER THE U.S. PULLS OUT, THEY" (THE RUSSIANS) "WANT TO MOVE IN. IF THERE ARE ANY PLACES THE U.S. CANNOT TAKE CARE OF, THEY'LL TRY AND PENETRATE -- JUST AS ON THE" (INDIAN) "SUBCONTINENT TWO YEARS AGO.

"AS WE SEE IT,THIS SHOWS THAT THE TWO SUPERPOWERS ARE  
CONTENDING FOR HEGEMONY. THIS IS AN OBJECTIVE FACT, QUITE  
INDEPENDENT OF ANY SUBJECTIVE THINKING. THE MIDDLE EAST IS A  
CASE IN POINT.

"THE SUPERPOWERS WANTED TALKS THERE TO AVOID TROUBLE. BUT  
IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO HAVE TALK IN ORDER TO AVOID TROUBLE THERE.

"OUR OWN VIEWPOINT IS DIFFERENT. WE THINK THERE IS NO POWER  
VACUUM. IT IS TRUE THAT WHEN A FOREIGN FORCE LEAVES A PLACE  
ANOTHER FORCE MOVES IN. BUT IN THE LAST ANALYSIS THE PEOPLE  
THEMSELVES IN SUCH AN AREA WILL RISE AND FILL THE VACUUM.

HE SAID "AS FOR U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS, PERHAPS THE UNITED  
STATES WISHES TO RELAX ITS RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE SOVIET  
UNION BUT OBJECTIVE DEVELOPMENTS ARE SIMPLY NOT LIKE THAT.  
YOU CAN RELAX ON ONE POINT; BUT THEN ANOTHER WILL ARISE.  
THAT'S WHY LAST YEAR, WHEN THE SOVIET-AMERICAN AGREEMENT ON  
ARMS WAS PUBLISHED, THERE WAS AN ACCORD ON STRATEGIC WEAPONS.  
SOME LIMITATIONS WERE PLACED ON THE COMPETITION IN NUCLEAR  
ARMS.

"BUT RIGHT AFTERWARDS YOUR SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, LAIRD, SAID  
STRAIGHTFORWARDLY THAT THE U.S. MUST INCREASE ITS MILITARY  
BUDGET TO FINANCE THE VARIETY AND QUALITY OF YOUR ARMS. AND  
THIS YEAR AN AGREEMENT WAS REACHED BETWEEN THE U.S AND  
RUSSIA ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR. THE DEFENSE MINISTRY  
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AGAIN ASKED FOR AN INCREASE IN ITS BUDGET, NOT A CUT. DOES THIS  
SHOW OBJECTIVE DEVELOPMENTS, INDEPENDENT OF SUBJECTIVE DESIRE?"  
(I DID NOT UNDERSTAND THIS ONE -- THEN OR NOW.) "THE  
U.S. HAS MADE ITS POSITION PUBLIC, AS IS THE TRADITION IN YOUR  
COUNTRY. BUT NO ONE KNOWS THE SOVIET FIGURE FOR ITS  
DEFENSE BUDGET. THAT IS WHY GROMYKO'S RECENT DRAFT RESOLUTION  
IS SO RIDICULOUS." (GROMYKO PROPOSED A TEN PERCENT ACROSS  
THE BOARD CUT IN ARMS EXPENDITURES).

"ALTHOUGH YOUR NEW SECRETARY OF STATE (KSSINGER) DIDN'T  
CRITICIZE THE SOVIET UNION ON THIS, AS A GESTURE OF DETENTE,  
ANOTHER FOREIGN SECRETARY, SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME, SAID  
PUBLICLY THAT THE GROMYKO DRAFT RESOLUTION WAS RIDICULOUS.  
HE ALSO SAID THAT BRITAIN'S EXPENDITURES ON SOVIET AID  
EXCEEDED THE TOTAL IN THAT FIELD PROVIDED BY THE SOVIET UNION.

"FOR THIS REASON THE COMMENTS AT THE UNITED NATIONS ON THIS  
SUBJECT BY MR. CHIAO, THE HEAD OF OUR DELEGATION, HAVE BEEN  
VERY INCISIVE.

"TO SUM UP IN ONE WORD, WE WILL SPEAK THE TRUTH. ON THIS POINT  
YOUR PRESIDENT AND YOUR SECRETARY OF STATE KNOW OUR POSITION.  
BUT TILL THE SOVIET UNION TRIES TO ABUSE US. THERE WILL BE NO

TRANQUILITY WITH REGARD TO THE CHINESE PROBLEM OR ELSEWHERE  
ON OTHER WORLD QUESTIONS BECAUSE OF THIS SOVIET ATTITUDE.

"THERE IS NO POINT IN AMERICANS -- AS SOME OF THEM DO --  
WORRYING ABOUT A RECURRENCE OF ISOLATIONISM IN YOUR COUNTRY  
BECAUSE IT IS SIMPLY IMPOSSIBLE TO PRODUCE THIS. WHEN SENATOR  
MANSFIELD AND SENATOR SCOTT, THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN  
SENATE LEADERS, CAME HERE WE DIDN'T DISCUSS THIS MATTER. BUT  
LATER, YOUR CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION CAME AND I TOLD THEM THEN  
IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE FOR YOU TO BECOME ISOLATIONISTS AGAIN, THAT  
AMERICA COULDN'T RETURN TO ISOLATIONISM. THEY WERE VERY GLAD  
TO HEAR ME SAY THAT. AND IF MANSFELD COMES HERE AGAIN, AS  
I BELIEVE HE WILL, I SHALL DISCUSS THIS WITH HIM.

"MOREOVER, EVEN IF THE DEMOCRATS ELECT THE NEXT PRESIDENT  
THEY WON'T BE ISOLATIONISTS EITHER. PRESIDENT NIXON PUT IT  
FRANKLY WHEN HE OPENLY EXPRESSED HIS OPPOSITION TO ISOLATIONISM.  
IT IS ODD THAT IN THE PAST IT WAS THE REPUBLICANS WHO  
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FAVORED ISOLATIONISM AND NOW IT SEEMS TO BE THE DEMOCRATS.  
BUT NEITHER WILL ACHIEVE IT. AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE IDEA IS  
OPPOSED BY THE PENTAGON, THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND THE C.I.A.  
OF COURSE, IT IS ESPECIALLY OPPOSED BY THE BIG MONOPOLY  
GROUPS WHO HAVE INFLUENCE WITH THE PENTAGON."

AT THIS POINT I ASKED IF HE FAVORED KEEPING NATO AND WESTERN  
EUROPE STRONG. HE SAID: "IN THE PAST WE OPPOSED NATO BUT NOW  
THE WARSAW PACT HAS CHANGED ITS NATURE. IT IS NO LONGER A  
DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE. IT HAS BECOME DOMINATED BY A SINGLE  
COUNTRY" (RUSSIA). THEREFORE, IN THIS RESPECT, NATO HAS ASSUMED  
A PARTLY DEFENSIVE CHARACTER. AND WE THINK WESTERN EUROPE IS  
RIGHT TO MAINTAIN ITS VIGILANCE AND AVOID FINLANDIZATION.

"BUT NATO ALSO HAS PARTLY AN AGGRESSIVE ASPECT. IT HELPS  
PORTUGUESE AGGRESSION IN AFRICA, WHICH IS WRONG. WE OPPOSE  
NATO ON THIS.

"IT WOULD BE GOOD IF BOTH NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT COULD MAINTAIN  
THE PRINCIPLE OF SAFEGUARDING THE INDEPENDENCE AND INTEGRITY  
OF ALL NATIONS AS EQUAL AND SOVEREIGN. BUT THEY HAVE BEEN  
UNABLE TO DO SO. AND WHAT SHALL WE DO IN THIS SITUATION?

"AS LONG AS NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT ARE STILL THERE, WHILE  
THEY EXIST, THEY ONLY SEEK TO STRENGTHEN THEMSELVES, RESPECTIVELY.  
AND MUCH PUBLIC OPINION IN WESTERN EUROPE HAS THE ILLUSION  
THAT PEACE PREVAILS. WE REMIND THEM THAT THEY SHOULD NOT HAVE  
SUCH ILLUSIONS.

END QUOTE.  
IRWIN

NOTE BY OC/T: STADIS CAPTION ADDED, LIMDIS CAPTION RAISED TO EXDIS  
PER MISS ELTZ, S/S-O. 10/31/73

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